Where Jim-Crow School Fight Stands Today

NAACP Faces Crucial Choice At Convention

By George Lavan

The 46th Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will meet in Atlantic City June 21-26 under very different circumstances than last year's convention. As an editorial in the June 10 Kansas City Call remarks:

"Last year this time, we thought the day for filing suits to end segregated schools was over, The Supreme Court had spoken. Our thoughts turned to other areas such as housing and public accommodation."

Unfortunately this proved to be wishful thinking. The historic victory of the Negro people, recorded in the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in schools unconstitutional, was followed by a year of bitter strife between the white supremacists and the opponents of segregation. The racists showed determination to retain in practice what they had lost in the legal battle.

And then, in its May 31, 1955 ruling, the Supreme Court threw its weight on the side of the Jim Crow forces. Under this ruling segregated schools can continue to exist for an indefinite number of years. How long it will be depends to a great extent on the kind of desegregation campaign the NAACP maps out at this convention.

TWO OPINIONS

Judging from reports in the Negro press there are likely to be two currents of opinion among the delegates on the Supreme Court's implementation decision.

Some delegates may believe, as the top leaders of the NAACP do, that the recent high court's ruling was not a setback but a victory. The NAACP's chief attorney, Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins, president of the Association, have expressed "gratification" with the decision and "confidence" that the South "will proceed without delay on programs of desegregation."

A different opinion has been voiced in leading circles of the NAACP. In Mississippi, NAACP state leader, Dr. A. H. McCoy, who heads the fight to bring Rev. George Lee's lynchers to justice, greeted the high court's recent ruling with the statement: "It looks like the Supreme Court doesn't believe in our Constitution either."

Judge C. R. Johnson, president of the Kansas City NAACP, said: "I think the court was a little unrealistic in apparently expecting those of the deep South, who have already avowedly opposed the decree to now accept it. The fact that no definite time limit was named could extend litigation over the school segregation issue from 15 to 20 more years in some areas."

Los Angeles NAACP president, Thomas G. Neusom said: "A decision allowing lower courts to decide when it is possible to

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Auto Workers Protest Pacts With Wave of Local Strikes

Walkouts Hit Speed-up And Wage Inequities

By Ben Haines

JUNE 15 — On the day following announcement of the Ford-Reuther agreement, June 6, a spokesman for the company said that 69 plants and parts depots employing 114,000 workers were affected by the so-called "wildcats."

On the day following Reuther's agreement with General Motors, June 13, the company reported that 51 plants, involving 140,000 GM workers, were closed as a result of strike.

Reuther greeted the settlement with an attitude of triumph mixed with a heavy dose of relief. The bosses expressed grateful praise to "Walter" for the "truly magnificent job" that was done. But the workers in the plants dissented — by the hundreds of thousands.

Even today, three days after the agreement with General Motors, 22 GM plants are still closed by strikes involving 62,400 according to a New York Times' estimate.

Supplementary unemployment insurance is all very well and good. But GM workers out in California (see South Gate story on this page) expect to have trouble getting unemployment compensation laws changed in the boss-controlled state legislature. The Ohio Senate has already rejected the first attempt to get state laws revised.

Besides, how many auto workers will get laid off before the date of eligibility comes around? The American Motors Corp. producer of Nash and Hudson, has just laid off 3400 workers at two Wisconsin plants in a "downward adjustment in production." What will happen to the eligibility of thousands of GM or Ford workers who will be laid off at the end of the year?

One thing is sure. Reuther's so-called GAW does not compensate, as far as the workers are concerned, for the murderous speed-up and the mountain of grievances that have accumulated in the plants. The wave of unauthorized walkouts demonstrate this quite emphatically.

BUFFALO STRIKES

In Buffalo 4200 workers at the Ford Stamping Plant and 1200 production workers at the Ford Assembly plant walked off their jobs on June 6 after the Ford-Reuther agreement had been reached. Local union officials opposed the strikes and eventually got the men back on the job. But the workers, in the meantime, made known their concern for local health and safety problems and above all their disgust with the new contract. **One worker on the Buffalo picket line expressed his indignation at the union bureaucracy by asking, "Who are those clowns working for — the**

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South Gate GM Union: "We Don't Want Ford Deal"

By C. Thomas

LOS ANGELES, June 13 — A spontaneous walkout shut down the big General Motors Pontiac-Oldsmobile-Buick plant in South Gate, California, last Tuesday (June 7) over company arrogance in arbitrarily rejecting Local demands and in protest over the way negotiations for a new contract were being conducted by the Reuther-led union committee in Detroit. The walkout ended today when members of CIO United Automobile Workers, Local 216, voted to return to work pending the outcome of national negotiations.

The GM-UAW five-year contract expired on May 29. When no agreement was reached by that date the contract was extended to Tuesday, June 7. Word flashed through the GM plant here Tuesday that there was to be another extension to June 12. The reaction was not long in coming. The men had read about the Ford agreement in the local newspapers. They did not like what they read. Less so after an official of the California State Unemployment office announced that the terms of the UAW-Ford, or any similar agreement, would not apply in California unless and until the state unemployment compensation measure was amended.

BODY SHOP FIRST

First to walk out at 9:30 P. M. Tuesday were the workers of the Body Shop on the night shift. Their work was heavy, hard and dirty. Their grievances the most acute. By midnight the plant was shut down. **A mass meeting of the night shift workers adopted a resolution addressed to the Reuther-led negotiating committee stating that the workers in GM wanted no "Ford settlement." They demanded immediate action to compel the corporation to accede to the modest demands of the Local Union.**

When the day shift workers appeared Wednesday morning a general mass meeting was held in which the resolution adopted the night before was confirmed. Management, of course, huffed and puffed and refused to meet with the Local negotiating committee

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They're Happy — But Not Workers

CIO and United Auto Workers Pres. Walter Reuther (r.) shakes hands with Ford Motor negotiator John S. Bugas after union official accepted Ford offer of a semi-annual unemployment insurance supplement scheme instead of a guaranteed annual wage plan. Numerous strikes expressed widespread dissatisfaction at failure to settle grievances.

Ranks Display Bitter Resentment at Handling Of Their Grievances

By George Breitman

DETROIT, June 13 — An estimated 175,000 General Motors workers were on strike today despite the contract agreement reached this morning between the UAW-CIO and GM. The GM contract follows the same general lines as the contract signed with Ford last week, and the GM walkouts resembled those that shut down many Ford plants a week ago.

It is plain that large numbers of auto workers, even though they may be a minority, are dissatisfied with the settlements. These walkouts, neither approved nor welcomed by the Reuther bureaucracy, were primarily protest demonstrations, lacking adequate preparation, program and leadership. But they were dramatic demonstrations just the same — which marks one difference from the situation in 1950 when the five-year contract was imposed on the workers.

Whatever the workers think of the 1955 contract, few of them consider it worse than the 1950 contract. Yet there were no such walkouts in 1950. It is true that these walkouts expressed the discontent and impatience of a minority of the workers. But in 1950 not even a minority staged such demonstrations.

Even if the walkouts don't last long, even if they don't achieve their objective of changes in local conditions, they are important for showing that there is a gap between the UAW bureaucracy and the UAW ranks, and that this gap has been widening over the years.

THE NEW AGREEMENTS

The main features of the new agreements are: a supplemental unemployment benefit plan, to cost the corporations no more than 5 cents an hour per employee; three-year contracts; slightly increased annual improvement factor, cost-of-living escalator, pension, vacation and insurance clauses; an additional paid holiday; and wage increases for some skilled classifications. For most workers it means a cash increase of only 6 cents an hour this year.

Under the old contract, the corporations had what they have been praising as "five years of labor peace and stability," during which their profit soared to record heights and the workers, hobbled by no-strike clauses and a conservative leadership, were unable to offer effective resistance to speedup and corporation stalling on grievances.

What the corporations wanted this year was a continuation of such "labor peace." To get it, they were willing to make concessions to the union. Financially, they were in position to afford substantial concessions. One UAW official estimated this week that GM "stands to make a profit of two and three-quarters billion dollars this year."

The corporations got essentially what they wanted, and cheaper than they probably expected. Walter Reuther estimated the cost at 20 cents an hour per employe, but even the capitalist press regarded this figure as inflated. They pointed out, for example, that the supplemental unemployment benefits may cost the corporations considerably less than the five cents an hour maximum they agreed to.

Whatever the corporations gave with one hand, they will be able to take it back with the other, in the form of increased speedup and automation, against which the new contract provides no additional protection for the workers (and, in some important instances, less).

For getting such a favorable agreement, the corporations

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Los Angeles -- The Typical Cold-War City

By Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

LOS ANGELES — In this period of rapid change one must check yesterday's facts against today's events or risk falling behind the times. A case in point would be to assume that movie production is still the chief industry of this city.

Farrell Dobbs

Although Los Angeles remains the movie capital of the world, it looms more importantly today as a cold-war city. A boom, triggered by large-scale arms production, has transformed the area into the nation's third largest industrial center.

To grasp the new reality of the area it is necessary to look beyond the city proper and examine the whole of Los Angeles county. Current estimates place the county population at five million. A jump of almost a million has taken place in the last five years, which is like adding a city the size of Boston.

Well over 600,000 people are employed in manufacture. Aircraft stands forth as the largest single industry with a payroll of 184,000. A rise in electronics production, now employing 70,000 people, accounted for one-fourth of the area's industrial growth during 1954. Around 55,000 workers function in the garment trade which has mushroomed since World War II and is still growing, especially in the sportswear line.

Other production in the diversified economy includes auto, chemicals, electrical products, machinery, steel. Among non-manufacturing basic industries interconnected with the area are

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Putting Pressure on Ford

Ford workers picket the Lincoln-Mercury plant at Metuchen, N. J., in one of many strikes by Ford workers in various parts of the country to put pressure on the company to get a satisfactory settlement. The strikes were all initiated by the rank and file.

Eisenhower Aids Dixie Position on Reserves

By Myra Tanner

In his televised press conference of June 8, Eisenhower publicly backed the Southern segregationists. The administration had been trying to get its military reserve program, a disguised version of universal military training, passed through Congress. Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) added an amendment to the bill barring segregation in the reserve forces in the National Guard. House sponsors of the bill then delayed action in deference to the Southern racehaters.

Instead of blasting the white supremacists for putting their ignorant prejudice ahead of the common desire of both capitalist parties to militarize the United States, Eisenhower blamed those who were insisting on equality, a principle that Republicans and Democrats alike claim they stand for — at least during election campaigns.

WORDS AND DEEDS

Eisenhower says he is for equality. But his attack on the Powell amendment as "extraneous" and "erroneous" demonstrates that for him it is purely a matter of political expediency.

Eisenhower's attack on the anti-Jim Crow forces followed the Supreme Court decision to turn over the anti-segregation school fight to the lower courts. The Supreme Court decision permits indefinite postponement of desegregation in the schools and now Eisenhower wants it postponed in federally-financed projects.

Rep. Powell defended his non-segregation amendment by reminding Eisenhower of a statement made two years ago. At that time the President said: "I do not believe one cent of federal funds should be used for segregation."

Obviously Eisenhower did not mean what he said. Equality, democracy — these are not principles at all to the representatives of Big Business in Washington. And Powell indicates he knows this only too well. In defending the correct position that the non-segregation amendment was "mandatory," Powell did not do so on the ground that it was the only correct, decent and honest thing to do, but on the ground that "when the colored peoples are being wooed by communism, we cannot afford to do anything to suggest that we are going backward."

Powell finds it necessary to appeal to Eisenhower's own self-interest. If U.S. Big Business wants to dominate the colonial world, it can't "afford" the ugly habits of Jim Crow.

The fight against segregation is clearly still in the hands of the Negro people and the labor movement, as it always has been. There is no use in appeals to the "better" nature of the Democrats and Republicans. They aren't one bit interested in equality. Only when serious pressure is applied, do they move.

American Stalinists 'Explain' Kremlin's Turnabout on Tito

By Daniel Roberts

Khrushchev's admission in Belgrade on May 26 that charges of "fascist" and "imperialist agent" hurled against Yugoslav leaders were frame-ups, has the U.S. Stalinist Daily Worker dancing like a cat on a hot tin roof.

The U.S. Communist Party leaders faithfully echoed all the Kremlin slanders against the Yugoslav Communist Party ever since the Stalin-Tito break in 1948. Khrushchev's admission put them on the griddle as accomplices in a gigantic campaign of lies and frame-ups.

Now they have to squirm out of what they said about Tito being a "fascist." They have to portray Tito as a valiant fighter for Socialism, which is how they described him before the 1948 break. At the same time they must try to give a plausible explanation as to why they slandered him as a paid agent of imperialism afterwards.

Assigned to dish out the new version about the Yugoslav leaders to CP members and sympathizers is Joseph Clark, one of the nimblest fact-jugglers on the Daily Worker staff.

However, the best Clark can do in the June 8 Daily Worker is to repeat the miserable Khrushchev alibi for the terror campaign launched by Stalin against Yugoslavia.

According to this alibi, it was really Beria, former head of the MVD, who invented the lies about Tito and other Yugoslav CP heads and "duped" the Soviet leaders, the "infallible" Stalin included. Beria is unable to refute this story since he himself was shot in 1953, after having been framed as a "tool of U.S. imperialism."

To be sure, in order to try to square current praise for Tito with the violent denunciation of the past, Clark states, "Tito is certainly not beyond criticism." He has even been "dead wrong" on several occasions in the past.

But "the crime of Beria, Abakumov and their like, it appears, was that they seized upon instances of genuine political differences or even erroneous views, and fabricated charges of conspiracy. It turns out they did so

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Singapore Paralyzed by General Strike

Singapore, British imperialism's southeast Asia bastion where a handful of enormously wealthy people live in fantastic luxury among millions who don't have enough to eat, is in the grip of a general strike.

The strike began on the afternoon of June 1 when militant bus and traction workers learned of the government's double-cross arrest of union leaders with whom it had been negotiating. It has now spread to other industries. Thirty-six unions representing 70,000 members have called for strike action until the union leaders are freed.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

This general strike is round two of the great organizing wave which has swept the British colony at the tip of the Malayan peninsula. A month ago round one ended with the workers and students of Singapore giving the British overlords a sound trouncing. **In that fight high school students came out in mass to support the striking bus drivers. When police tried to smash the picket lines with clubs and guns a general strike followed by rioting spread throughout the city. The employers and the government gave in and the bus drivers emerged with their own union rather than a company union the officials had tried to force on them.**

When that battle was won, the unions which had struck in solidarity returned to work. A few economic strikes continued. One such was the strike of 1,300 harbor workers (clerks, storemen and firemen) for higher wages and improved working conditions. That strike is now in its seventh week.

Some weeks ago 36 unions representing 70,000 workers served notice that unless the harbor workers were given a settlement by June 13 they would walk out in solidarity. On June 12 it looked as if the general strike would be averted. Trade union leaders had been in session with the "liberal" Chief Minister of Singapore and an agreement reached.

DOUBLECROSS

The unionists didn't realize that this was an imperialist doublecross. While the Chief Minister was agreeing to their proposals at his home, his police were busy raiding union headquarters, seizing their papers, property, etc. Then five of the union heads were arrested under the brutal "emergency regulations" by which the British have ruled Singapore for the last seven years.

The emergency regulations do not require that charges against arrested people be made public. Moreover those arrested can be imprisoned for two years without being brought to trial. The officials are leaking stories of "communist conspiracy" and the capitalist press throughout the world justifies the arrests on the same grounds, but it is an open secret that the arrests were an attempt to behead the general strike of its leadership.

Labor officials in Singapore issued a statement declaring that the "fact that the arrests and raids were set into motion after the talks (with the government) had been successful has demonstrated the insincerity of the government in saying they seek a peaceful settlement."

So far the strike has been peaceful. However, the deployment of 4,500 police and preparations of the British troops are ominous.

Dunlop Rubber, Ford Motor Co., National Carbon and Carbide and other U.S. imperialist holdings are shut down by the strike.

NEXT WEEK

"Wall Street's Hand In Argentina's Fight With the Catholic Church"

By Sam Marcy

20 YEARS OF THE CIO — VII

GM Sit-Down of '37--"Gettysburg" of the CIO

By Art Preis

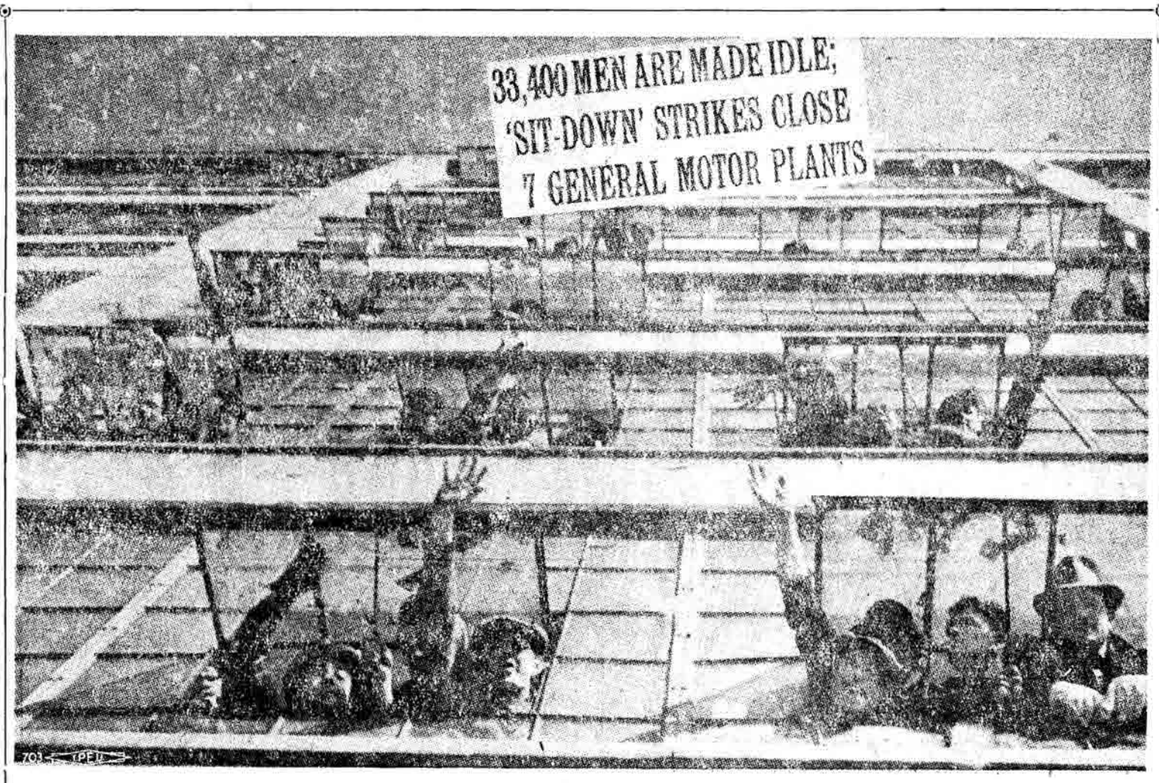
Class collaboration and class struggle—two irreconcilably opposed theories and methods which have always contested with each other in the labor movement — strove for supremacy within the CIO from its start. This clash of theories and methods was especially bitter during the CIO's crucial first two years.

The top CIO leaders were class collaborationist to the bone. They sought "peaceful coexistence" between predatory capital and exploited labor — between robber and robbed. They believed they could persuade the employers that unions are a "benefit" to the capitalists themselves and thereby secure gains for the workers by the simple means of "reasonable discussion" across the conference table.

In addition, they denied the capitalist class nature of the government and the major political machines, Republican and Democratic, particularly the latter party. Lewis appears to have had an almost touching faith in the honesty of capitalist politicians and to have placed an inordinate dependence on Roosevelt to give the CIO strong backing in its developing steel and auto campaigns. Lewis held this view all the more strongly because the Democratic Party graciously accepted more than a million dollars from the United Mine Workers and Labor's Non-Partisan League to help finance Roosevelt's 1936 election campaign. There is no evidence that Roosevelt and the Democratic leaders had agreed to any quid pro quo — any return for value received. Lewis just assumed it. Didn't the capitalists always get substantial returns for their political contributions? Wasn't labor's money just as good?

Fortunately for the success of the CIO, the concepts of the top CIO leaders did not always predominate. The strident notes of the class struggle broke through the "class harmony" chorus and set the dominant tone during the decisive days of the rise of the CIO. **The bridge to victory proved to be not the conference board, nor the inside track to Roosevelt in the White House, but the picket line — above all, that "inside picket line," the sit-down.**

Following formation of the LNPL to help re-elect Roosevelt, the CIO launched its big organizing drives in mass production industry. Lewis and his lieutenants had determined that the spearhead of the CIO offensive would be in steel. Lewis was particularly concerned with steel because of its importance for the miners union. He used the most eloquent of arguments — the offer of a $700,000 campaign fund ($500,000 from the miners and $100,000 each from the Ladies Garment Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers unions) to swing the old Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers leaders into the CIO. On June 13, 1936, ten days after the Amalgamated Association had been absorbed, the CIO leaders officially announced the opening of the steel drive.



The scene of a sit-down strike at a General Motors plant in 1937. The headline comes from the New York Times of January 1, 1937. During the sit-down wave, similar scenes were witnessed in hundreds of plants throughout the country.

The Second UAW Convention

The drive was placed in the hands of a Steel Workers Organizing Committee composed completely of top officials of unions outside the steel industry, with the exception of Tighe and Joseph K. Gaither of the Amalgamated Association. Most of the steel committee were selected from Lewis' own officialdom in the United Mine Workers. Philip Murray, Lewis' first lieutenant in the UMW, was named SWOC director. There was not a real steel worker in the lot. The steel workers had a hand-picked leadership imposed on them from the top. From the start, the voice of the ranks was stifled and their initiative choked off.

The steel organizing campaign, however, was conducted in style. Murray sent 433 full-time and part-time organizers into the steel areas. Thirty-five regional offices were opened and a paper, **Steel Labor,** was issued. And, as a special inducement, the SWOC asked no dues. It was not until April 1937, after the U.S. Steel contract was signed, that the SWOC began to collect $1 a month dues; in June, 1937, a $3 initiation fee was added.

In December, 1936, Lewis and Myron C. Taylor, then board chairman of U.S. Steel, engaged in secret "exploratory" discussions on the possibility of a union contract. Just what would have come of these discussions if they had proceeded without any outside intervening factor is hard to say. **The CIO front suddenly and dramatically shifted from swank hotel suites and skyscraper offices to the grimmer battlefield of the massive industrial plants of General Motors. Without a by-your-leave to Lewis or anyone else, the GM workers challenged the auto industry's giant in an immediate showdown battle. The GM sit-down strike of the winter of 1936-1937 became the major point of CIO combat. Flint, Mich., became the "Gettysburg" of the CIO.**

The United Automobile Workers, which joined the CIO formally in July 1936, was the closest to a rank-and-file controlled organization in the new CIO. By their own efforts in battle against the AFL Executive Council, the auto workers had established their own international union in 1935. At the UAW's second convention, the last week of April and beginning of May, 1936, they completed the job by ousting William Green's handpicked president Dillon, and electing their own officers under their own constitution. The first fight at the convention occurred over Dillon's attempt to prevent the seating of the militant Toledo delegation, comprising 17% of all delegates. It was these veterans of the Toledo Auto-lite and Chevrolet strikes who set the pace.

This convention unanimously adopted a resolution calling for formation of a national labor party. Only a personal plea from Lewis to the convention, with an impassioned appeal by the newly-elected UAW president Homer Martin, secured passage of a last-minute rider to the political resolution to support Roosevelt in the forthcoming national elections. Principles of union democracy were built into the constitution and practice of the UAW so firmly then that 18 years of bureaucratization have not eradicated them entirely. **The convention rejected a resolution to bar "communists" and opened the union to all auto workers regardless of race, creed, religion, national origin or politics. It must be added that young militants of all radical tendencies, especially the Socialist Party, whose left wing then included the Trotskyists, and the Communist Party, played a most active and influential role in the convention.**

The Lightening Before the Storm

There were several flashes of lightning before the GM storm. On Nov. 13, 1936, a spontaneous sit-down strike halted operations of the Fisher Body No. 1 plant in Flint. The union won its point and the UAW started to sign up new members by the hundreds. Robert Travis, a member of the 1935 strike committee in Toledo Chevrolet, and Wyndham Mortimer, a Cleveland auto worker on the UAW board, were sent into Flint to aid the drive. Both of them were already under Stalinist influence, but they were still fresh from strike struggles and retained a good bit of their native militancy.

In the next several weeks there were successful sit-down occupations of plants at Bendix, in South Bend and Midland Steel Products in Detroit, and a five-day sit-down at Kelsey-Hayes wheel plant in Detroit. Meanwhile, a strike flared at Fisher Body in Atlanta, Georgia, over the discharge of four men wearing union buttons. When the Atlanta workers appealed for an extension of the walkout, the CIO strategists termed such a move "premature." Four weeks later, a strike erupted at the Kansas City Fisher plant. On Dec. 21, Lewis and the UAW leaders wired Knudsen of General Motors for a collective bargaining conference. They were told to take it up with local plant managers.

Disgusted with stalling around, some 7,000 workers at Cleveland Fisher Body, organized by Mortimer, went on strike Dec. 28, 1936. They announced they would not return until a national GM contract was signed. More than a thousand strikers occupied the plant. Two days later, on the morning after they had presented management with a contract demand, workers in Fisher Body Plant No. 2 in Flint saw inspectors who supported the union being transferred. They sat down. At Plant No. 1 that evening, the night-shift saw important dies being loaded onto trucks and boxcars for Grand Rapids and Pontiac. They, too, sat down. The production of bodies for all GM cars came to a halt.

Within three weeks, 15 other GM units were closed by strikes, including the Fleetwood and Cadillac plants in Detroit, and plants in Janesville, Wis., Norwood, O., Atlanta, St. Louis, Kansas City and Toledo. At the most crucial stage of the struggle, the Flint Chevrolet No. 4 plant, where motor assembly was centered, was seized and occupied by the strikers. By the end of the strike, some 140,000 of GM's 150,000 production workers either sat down or "hit the bricks," as traditional picketing in a strike was described.

Victory or defeat for the GM workers depended on a simple strategy: keeping their buttocks firmly planked on $50 million worth of GM property until they got a signed contract. GM's strategy was to get the workers out of the plants by hook or crook so that the police, deputies and National Guard could disperse them by force and violence. All the maneuvers between Lewis and the UAW leaders on the one hand and Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, Michigan's Governor Frank Murphy and General Motors on the other, involved the sit-down issue essentially.

In his book **C.I.O. Industrial Unionism in Action,** published late in 1937, the former Harvard economist who became CIO Research and Educational Director, J. Raymond Walsh, stated flatly that the CIO leaders had not called the GM strike. "The CIO high command, preoccupied with the drive in steel, tried in vain to prevent the strike; it was fed by deep springs of resentment among thousands of men against a corporation grossly derelict in its obligations," wrote Walsh. There was certainly no strike call and no broad strike strategy.

It was not until Jan. 3, when the strike was already spreading like a brush fire through the GM plants, that 200 UAW delegates convened in Flint, created a board of strategy and authorized it to call a formal corporation-wide strike. The next day GM was served with a set of eight demands, including: union recognition and a signed contract; abolition of piece-work; the 30-hour week and six-hour day; time-and-a-half for overtime; minimum pay rates; reinstatement of discharged unionists; a seniority system; sole collective bargaining rights for UAW; and union participation in regulating the pace of the belt-lines.

Once the GM strike was under way, Lewis publicly voiced the CIO's approval. On Dec. 31, 1936, he declared: "The CIO stands squarely behind these sit-downs." When GM's Knudsen demanded evacuation of the plants before considering collective bargaining, Lewis repeated the demand for a national contract embodying sole collective bargaining rights.

The "Battle of the Running Bulls"

On January 2, GM secured the first of its injunctions. A Judge Black issued an order to vacate the plants and to desist from picketing company property. When the sheriff attempted to read the order, the sit-downers laughed him out of the plants. Thousands of other workers continued their mass picket lines on the outside. But the injunction was never enforced; it was disclosed that Judge Black was a GM stockholder, with 3,365 shares then valued at $219,000.

On Jan. 8, 1937, came the announcement of the formation of the Flint Alliance as "a voluntary movement of employes who wish to return to their work and are against the strike." This back-to-work movement, open to all citizens at large and not only GM workers, was headed by George E. Boysen, ex-mayor and former Buick paymaster.

A direct physical clash came on Jan. 12, 1937. The company had shut off the heat that afternoon in an attempt to freeze out the sit-downers in Fisher Body Plant No. 2. Several hours later the Flint police announced there would be no more food allowed to enter the plant for the strikers. The cops blocked off the entrance and then knocked down a ladder to a window through which supplies were being shipped. A union sound truck with Walter Reuther's brother Victor at the microphone called on the police to end their blockade. The plea was ignored.

A body of pickets finally stormed the entrance, forcing the police aside and carrying coffee and bread in to the sit-downers. Around 9 P.M., half of Flint's police force suddenly fell with clubs on the pickets at the entrance. Some were scattered, others were driven into the plant. Tear gas was fired into the plant. Police sent volleys of buckshot through the windows. **The strikers fought back with everything from hurled nuts and bolts to soda pop bottles. A three-hour battle ensued. During the course of the struggle, the strikers captured the sheriff's car and three police cruisers. When the police reformed ranks at midnight to make a new attack, the strikers brought into play their "secret weapon"—a plant fire hose that soaked the police with freezing water and finally drove them back to the other side of a bridge leading to the plant gates. Twenty-four strikers had been injured; 14 had gunshot wounds. The "Battle of the Running Bulls" was the last attempt to recapture any GM plant by force. GM announced it would not try to use strikebreakers, a move it could scarcely employ anyway so long as the plants were occupied by strikers.**

What force failed to do, GM sought to achieve through guile. The newly-elected Democratic Governor Murphy invited GM's Knudsen and UAW President Martin to Lansing on January 15. After a meeting, Murphy announced that a truce agreement had been reached for the sit-downers to leave five of the major struck plants on the week-end and then GM would start to negotiate on Monday. The Cadillac and Fleetwood workers in Detroit marched out of the plants with banners and brass bands. The next day, Sunday, January 17, the Flint workers were to leave their forts. Then the union learned that GM had wired Boysen of the Flint Alliance that "we stand ready always to discuss with your group" as well as the legitimate union.

The truce blew up. Workers who were half way out of some plants rushed back in and took defensive posts. Others, preparing to leave, remained and locked the doors. Now the siege was on in dead earnest. Lewis announced: "GM was caught in a bare-faced violation of the armistice and so the evacuation of the plants was stopped. The men are not going to leave them."

Lewis believed his ace-in-the-hole was Roosevelt. The union leader sought to get the President to come out firmly in support of the GM workers. On Jan. 21, Lewis told a press conference: "The administration asked labor for help to repel this attack [on Roosevelt in 1936 elections] and labor gave it help. The same economic royalists now have their fangs in labor. The workers of this country expect the administration to help the workers in every legal way and to support the workers in General Motors plants."

Roosevelt's reply the next day was a cold rebuke to Lewis: "Of course I think in the interests of peace that there come moments when statements, conversations, and headlines are not in order." A few days later he sought to balance this off with a criticism of GM Board Chairman Alfred P. Sloan, when the latter refused to confer with Lewis in Secretary of Labor Perkin's office. Roosevelt said this was a "very unfortunate decision" and left it at that.

GM was not averse to intervention by Roosevelt, if no other course was open. The Detroit News had come out in the third week of the strike with a front-page editorial, "Let Roosevelt Do It." GM understood Roosevelt's role very well. His task was, not aid to the workers, as Lewis assumed, but to get the company off the hook with the smallest possible concessions. These would be represented as a "patriotic" response to the President's request, not as a surrender to union pressure.

On January 31, Madame Perkins threw the administration's weight on the side of GM by telling the press that she had proposed to Sloan the day before that the strikers were to quit the plants "as an expression by the union of good faith in General Motors" before any negotiations were to begin.

Subsequently, at the most critical point of the strike, Roosevelt phoned from the White House to Lewis in Detroit to try to persuade Lewis to agree to a one-month contract in return for getting the workers to leave the occupied plants. He raised the offer to two and then three months, but Lewis stood firm for a minimum of a six-month pact.

While the shadow play was being enacted by Lewis, Knudsen, Murphy, Perkins and Roosevelt between Washington, Detroit and Lansing, the live drama was unfolding in Flint. There 1,500 members of the National Guard, sent by Murphy, set up an encampment in preparation for driving the strikers out of the plant if so ordered. The company next sought another injunction as the legal basis for compelling Murphy to use the troops to invade the plants and force the strikers out.

On Tuesday, February 2, GM found another compliant judge, Paul V. Gadola, who issued an injunction ordering the strikers to evacuate the two Fisher plants by 3 P.M., Wednesday. A critical challenge faced the Fisher Body sit-downers.

Anticipating the Fisher injunction, the strikers moved on Feb. 1 to occupy a still more strategic plant, Chevrolet No. 4 where the Chevrolet motors were assembled — a real bottleneck. The leader of the Chevrolet unionists was Kermit Johnson, a militant left-wing Socialist. Chevrolet No. 4 had not been shut down, as it was not certain whether the union had sufficient strength in the plant. A bold stratagem was devised to capture the plant by reinforcements from the outside.

A diversion was created. Several thousand strikers marched to Chevrolet Plant No. 9 from the union headquarters. They were led by Roy Reuther and Powers Hopgood. GM informers, as had been expected, had tipped off management about the march on No. 9. Armed Flint detectives and company guards had been installed in the plant. The workers inside began yelling "sit down!" and a forty minute battle was waged inside the plant. **The Women's Emergency Brigade organized and led by Genora Johnson (now Dollinger), fought heroically on the outside, smashing the windows to permit the tear gas to escape from the plant.**

During this diversion, 400 Chevrolet No. 4 men, with some squads from No. 6, marched boldly into the No. 4 plant, shut down operations, barricaded doors and gates and set up patrols. Steel gondolas, weighing hundreds of pounds apiece, were piled against doors and windows from floor to ceiling. That night, troops with bayonets marched ominously outside—but Murphy did not dare to give an order to attack.

The next day, when Judge Gadola issued his injunction setting a deadline for the following day, the strikers held meetings and voted to hold the plants at all costs. The Fisher No. 1 workers wired Gov. Murphy: "Unarmed as we are, the introduction of the militia, sheriffs, or police with murderous weapons will mean a blood bath of unarmed workers . . . We have decided to stay in the plant. We have no illusions about the sacrifices which this decision will entail. We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust us many of us will be killed, and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of the state of Michigan and the country that if this result follows from the attempt to eject us, you are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths."

Early the next day, all the roads into Flint were jammed with cars loaded with unionists from Detroit, Lansing, Pontiac and Toledo. More than a thousand veterans of the Toledo Auto-Lite and Chevrolet strikes were on hand. Walter Reuther, then head of the Detroit West Side local, brought in a contingent of 500. Rubber workers from Akron and coal miners from the Pittsburgh area joined the forces rallying to back the Flint strikers. No police were in sight. The workers directed traffic. Barred by troops with machine guns and 37-milimeter howitzers from Fisher No. 2 and Chevrolet No. 4, the workers from other areas formed a huge cordon around Fisher No. 1.

But when the showdown came, the sheriff refused to try to enforce the injunction. He passed the buck to Governor Murphy. Murphy stalled, fearful of committing political suicide if he used the troops against the workers. On February 8, the company tried to freeze the strikers out once more by turning off the heat. The strikers opened all windows and threatened to freeze the fire-fighting equipment in the plants, thus causing a violation of GM's fire insurance contracts and leaving its property unprotected by insurance. GM howled at Murphy to enforce the injunction and he, in turn, went screaming in rage to Lewis: "You've got to do something about this, Mr. Lewis. I demand that you do something."

Lewis replied: "I did not ask these men to sit-down. I did not ask General Motors to turn off the heat. I did not have any part of either the sit-down strike or the attempt to freeze the men. Let General Motors talk to them."

A Rank and File Uprising

This was the literal truth. The GM strike was an uprising of the rank and file. Its leadership was mainly local young workers with radical social and political views. A short while later, most of them, like those under Stalinist leadership, who became the most servile supporters of Roosevelt, and the Reuther brothers, who broke their Socialist Party connections, became more and more adapted to capitalist politics and class collaboration. But for that one brief period of the historic GM sit-down, they were still close enough to the militant ranks, still sufficiently imbued with socialist ideas and the traditions of the old IWW and socialist fighters to rise with the masses. The men they were then would have spit upon the men they were to become.

Once more, after he had pleaded with Lewis to betray the strikers, Gov. Murphy tried the threat of troops to frighten them. On the night of Feb. 9, the National Guard in Flint, with 1,300 reinforcements, were alerted to seal off all highways and prevent reinforcements for the strikers. The sit-downers refused to budge; they made weapons of defense in assembly-line fashion and waited the attack.

Late that night, Murphy again went to Lewis and showed him an order he had signed for the troops to empty the plants by force the next day. Lewis told him: "Tomorrow morning, I shall personally enter General Motors plant Chevrolet No. 4. I shall order the men to disregard your order, to stand fast. I shall then walk up to the largest window of the plant, open it, divest myself of my outer raiment, remove my shirt, and bare my bosom. Then when you order your troops to fire, mine will be the first breast that those bullets will strike."

Murphy, his nerve broken, fled from the room. General Motors, fearful that any attack on the strikers in their determined mood would mean devastation of its plants and machinery, cracked. The muscular rumps of the GM workers pressed down on the chests of GM's corporate owners until they cried "Uncle!" On Feb. 11, 1937, GM signed a six-month agreement. It provided that the company would not recognize or deal with any other organization in the 17 plants closed by the UAW, that all unionists and strikers would be rehired, that unionism could be discussed on company property, during lunch and rest periods, and that negotiations would proceed at once on wages, hours, production speedup, and other issues.

It wasn't much of a deal by present standards. But it was an inspiring victory to all American labor in 1937. The flood-gates of class struggle were opened. The cry "sitdown!" echoed from one corner of the land to the other. One month after the end of the GM strike, some 193,000 workers engaged in 247 sit-downs; nearly a half million took up this weapon before 1937 ended. The number of all strikes rose from 2,172 in 1936 to 4,740 in 1937, with 1,861,000 workers involved. That is the way the CIO was built and consolidated.

(Next week. The Sit-Down Wave and the Little Steel Strike.)

Previous installments of "20 Years of the CIO" may be obtained by writing to the Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. The cost is 10c. per issue. All new subscribers to the Militant, for the duration of the series, will receive free copies of previous installments on request.

. . . Stalinists "Explain"

(Continued from page 1)

to cover up their own conspiracy." This closes the matter as far as Clark is concerned.

He has left out a trifle. As a result of these "differences of opinions" hundreds of alleged Titoites in the Balkan countries and the Soviet Union were hanged and shot. Hundreds of thousands were sent to prison or slave labor camps, including many of the most devoted fighters for socialism. There they remain to this day. The Soviet government has not lifted a finger to liberate them although all were victimized because of "fabricated charges of conspiracy."

Clark, too, passes these frame-up victims over in silence.

SWP DEMAND

On June 1, Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, cabled Khrushchev demanding that "in interest of the USSR and world working class . . . [he] release from prisons and slave labor camps all victims of this frame-up."

Dobbs also demanded that Khrushchev open the records of purge trials in East European countries to investigation by an international civil liberties committee. In addition he demanded that the Moscow trials of the 1930's be reexamined by such a body.

If Clark were genuinely concerned with correcting a frame-up, he would endorse the SWP demand. But this is too much to expect from an apologist for the Kremlin.

Although the Stalinist frame-up artists were forced to back down in Yugoslavia and admit that their previous charges against the country's leaders were fabrications, they have no intention of ending the frame-up system in the Soviet bloc itself. For this is an essential feature of their dictatorial rule in defense of bureaucratic privileges.

But militants throughout the world working class movement will want to see justice done to all victims of the Stalinist frame-up system.

They will tear through the silence of the Kremlin apologists and rally to the demand for freeing all victims of the Stalinist terror machine.

THE MILITANT ARMY

With the final week of the Militant subscription campaign coming up, the flow of letters and subs into the office is increasing. Agents throughout the country are organizing for the final push. Next week we will carry a full report on the six-week campaign, what it accomplished, what we can learn from it and where we go from here. Meanwhile, there is plenty to do and from where we are sitting it looks like plenty is being done.

The **Twin Cities** will celebrate the campaign wind-up with a social affair featuring Militant punch (an old Minnesota refreshment that packs a terrific wallop). Helen Sherman writes: "With every new sub the influence of the Militant spreads — and to more than one person, you can be sure. The consistent recruiting of new readers is certainly inspiring the Minneapolis campaign."

John Tabor sends in some subs and writes: **"Nate King"** is the high scorer in **New York Local.** He just keeps plugging and asks his friends to take a sub to the best paper this country has."

Mary Black of Pittsburgh, reports that the subs they are sending come from workers who have been Militant readers over a period of time.

A batch of four new subs, one renewal as well as an **F.I.** renewal, was sent in by **Nick Pappas** from **San Francisco.**

Helen Baker who covers the Seattle front writes: **"Ann Medsen** and **Leon Cope** sold seven papers on their new route and have the promise of two subs. **Clara Kaye** got a donation of $1.50 for a sub for someone who isn't able to afford one. So that will be in as soon as we decide whom to give it to."

Buffalo has been doing a fine job on new subscriptions. For every five renewals they have sent in four new ones.

Subscription $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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The GAW and Political Action

In a nationally syndicated article, June 12, Professor Sumner Slichter, dean of Harvard economists, calls the guaranteed annual wage principle that auto workers got from Ford "supplementary unemployment compensation." He then points out that it is another example of the tendency of labor to achieve certain benefits by collective bargaining rather than by legislation.

Many will say the main thing is to achieve these benefits one way or another, but to achieve them. True. But it is also worth while for workers to figure out the best and most efficient way — and to make sure that by achieving it one way, they aren't sacrificing other benefits they want and need.

Is this true with the GAW now won from Ford and General Motors? We think so. We also think it is true about the pension and health-welfare plans won at the cost of great struggle by the unions. All of these things and more are necessary. We participated in the fight for each of them. Yet there is a grave weakness in having to get them through collective bargaining and strikes rather than through political action.

Many workers will reply, "But we couldn't get them through political action, the only way we could win them was through negotiations and strikes." That's true. But it raises this question: Why cannot the powerful labor movement of this country, which spends so much time and energy and money for political action, win adequate pensions, free national health insurance and union-wage unemployment compensation through legislation? The reason is that the political action program of the union bureaucracy is bankrupt. Despite all the union wealth and energy expended supporting "friends of labor" no important legislation for the workers results.

Let's be specific. Could legislation have done a better job on the so-called GAW than the contracts signed with Ford and GM did? The GAW supplement to unemployment compensation will average $9 a week for 26 weeks. If major unemployment occurs and the $55 million fund out of which Ford will pay these benefits begins to get low, as has happened to the United Mine Workers health-welfare fund, then the benefits will be cut.

If the unions had an effective political program there is no reason why the present inadequate unemployment compensation laws couldn't be changed to provide increases of much more than $9 a week and for 52 weeks a year.

Slichter points out some other defects that result from doing it by contract rather than legislation. For example supplementary compensation through union contract rather than law benefits only that part of the working class in unions. By legislation all workers in the country — organized and unorganized — would benefit. This could be of great help in organizing that 50% or more of the working class that is still unorganized.

Furthermore there are many unions in "depressed" industries that have no prospect of winning the supplementary unemployment compensation now. Take the CIO Textile workers in the cotton-rayon industry for example. Three years ago they had to accept a 6½% wage cut. At present they have been on strike for two months — not for a wage increase but against a 10c. an hour cut the bosses are demanding. Wouldn't increased unemployment compensation by legislation be better for them?

Reuther's GAW principle (also the pension plans) ties the individual worker to the plant even though from choice or need he might want to change jobs. What about someone who has to move to another city? He loses the benefits he has piled up. Or the worker who can get a better job in another plant? He has to sacrifice the benefits he has earned. If there were national legislation this wouldn't happen. The benefits would go with the worker to whatever job or city he moved.

Finally there is a big defect in getting things through contracts that should be got through legislation. It is that to get them the union leaders have to sacrifice demands that can be best got through collective bargaining or strike action. For example Reuther, in order to get his GAW "principle," had to be silent on the demand for a 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay. He had to trim wage demands. He had to abandon any attempt to do anything on speed-up and all the other issues that are causing the Ford and GM workers to go out on strikes.

What's the answer? Get the labor movement to use both its arms effectively — the political as well as the economic; the vote as well as the strike. That means organizing a Labor Party that will get results in Washington and the state capitols instead of the run-around.

Then benefits that can best be won by legislation will be won that way. Benefits that can best be won by militant union action can be won that way. And when the two arms of Labor — the political and the economic — are used together the workers can do anything — including running the country for the benefit of the workers and farmers and not for Big Business.

Latin-American Students on March

"Students on 'March' In South America," reads a headline in the June 11 Christian Science Monitor. This, along with reports of workers' strikes, is heartening news for all lovers of freedom and social progress; conversely, it sends shivers down the spines of the U.S. State Department and the oil, mining, banking, fruit and other imperialists who batten off the wealth of Latin America.

For the marching of students in Latin America is the sure harbinger of political and social revolution. This is true of other colonal and semi-colonial countries. It is true because the students in these imperialist-ridden parts of the world often represent the conscience and courage of the population.

Traditionally Latin American students have dared speak out and act against the military dictators and Wall Street puppets even when others are cowed by fear and terror.

At such moments the students, spokesmen for the silent masses, — dare all. They take the police beatings and deportations. Their imprisonment and hunger strikes have often served to shock the workers and peasants into revolutionary action.

According to the same dispatch, "Here in Chile, the Ibanez government is reeling — this is no exaggeration — before the students." In Peru the despot Odria is similarly being assailed. More power to these heroic young people. They are the advance skirmishers for the great armies of workers and peasants who will finally oust the militarists and imperialist puppets and establish socialism, thus reclaiming Latin America for the people of Latin America.

The New Line on Tito

Is Tito a "fascist" and "imperialist agent"? Or is he a valiant fighter for Socialism? Yesterday the Stalinists slandered him as the one. Today they flatter him as the other.

In either case their protrayal of Tito bears no relation to the truth.

For example, in the June 8 Daily Worker, Joseph Clark undertakes to erase the previous Stalinist frame-up against the Yugoslav leaders.

He answers a letter from a rank and file CP member, who states, "The Cominform exposure of Tito was not an error. It was as necessary as Lenin's exposure of Kautsky."

It is clear that the rank and file member was taken in by the poisonous inventions cooked up by the MVD frame-up artists at the time of the Stalin-Tito break and subsequently. At the same time he implies legitimate criticism of such acts as the Yugoslav leaders' support of the Western imperialist intervention in civil war in Korea.

That stand was a betrayal of the struggle for socialism and was denounced as such by revolutionary socialists, who were also protesting the Stalinist frame-up of the Titoists.

But Clark is not a revolutionary socialist. He is a Stalinist hack.

He has no real difference in principle with the type of opportunism Tito displayed during the Korean war. For the Yugoslav leaders at that time were simply following the method of the reactionary Stalinist theory of building Socialism in one country to its logical conclusion. They sacrificed considerations of international working class revolution in exchange for promises of material aid from imperialism. This is standard operational procedure for the Stalinists.

Clark's criticism of the Yugoslavs' conduct during the Korean war is so mild, so considerate, it amounts to a whitewash job, whereas previously Clark was one of the fiercest slanderers of the Tito regime.

Neither method — neither slander of political opponents, nor whitewash of opportunist betrayal — can educate the vanguard of the workers movement for the struggle against capitalism.

What is needed on all questions is the method of revolutionary socialism — to tell the truth fearlessly.

Why the Ford Workers Dislike Contract

DETROIT, June 13 — From all indications, next week's vote at CIO Auto Workers' Ford Local 600 on acceptance or rejection of the proposed Ford contract will bring out a relatively high No vote, despite the recommendations of Walter Reuther and his former opponent, Carl Stellato, 600 president.

The first signs of disappointment and opposition to the contract came when wildcat strikes by skilled and production workers shut down most of the Rouge plant last week. After the wildcats were ended, the disappointment and opposition became strengthened when the workers had an opportunity to become acquainted with the details of the contract.

They are learning that the so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage, for which so many other demands on wage and working conditions were surrendered, has more shadow (or "principle," as Reuther would put it) than substance.

They have learned for example, that workers with up to 10 years seniority (that is, the bulk of those who would be affected in anything but a complete shutdown) would have to work 32 hours a week for 92 weeks before they could accumulate 26 credits, the maximum allowable under the plan.

But this would not entitle such an employee to 26 weeks of supplementary compensation, because that in turn would depend upon what proportion of $55,000,000 (the maximum of the fund) was actually available. Thus a worker with 10 years' seniority who had accumulated 26 credits would be entitled to only a little more than 5 weeks of supplementary benefits if the fund were at the 13% level.

They also learned, for example, that they would not be eligible for such benefits if they were laid off for disciplinary reasons or if it were a consequence of "(i) any strike, slowdown, work stoppage, picketing (whether or not by employees, or concerted action, at a Company Plant or Plants, or any dispute of any kind involving employees, whether at a Company Plant or Plants or elsewhere, or (ii) any fault attributable to the applicant or (iii) any war or hostile act of a foreign power . . . or (iv) sabotage, or insurrection, or (v) any act of God."

This is broad enough to permit the company to declare workers at the Rouge plant in Dearborn ineligible if members of Jehovah's Witnesses were to picket the Ford jet engine job in Chicago.

Ford workers are dissatisfied with a three-year contract. They are unhappy about the lack of an across-the-board wage raise. But they are above all discontented by the UAW leadership's unwillingness to fight to improve plant working conditions that have slowly but steadily worsened in the long period of the five-year contract.

Reuther has boasted of the union's "getting a foot in the door" on the GAW. In actuality, it is the company that has succeeded in opening the door wide to the complete elimination of the union as a defense for workers against the speedup.

In the most vicious clause ever written into a UAW contract, Ford is given the right in the new contract to discharge workers even if they work ABOVE existing standards of production. It has also won the right to insist upon fulfillment of standards even while they are under dispute.

The clause in question, Article V, Section 5, reads as follows:

"Employees participating in unauthorized work stoppages or slowdowns (either at a rate below or above the established standards) shall be subject to discharge. Where a standard has been placed in effect by the Company, and such standard is in dispute, the employees are required to work under the disputed standard with the same diligence and effort as if there were no dispute."

BOSS' STRATEGY

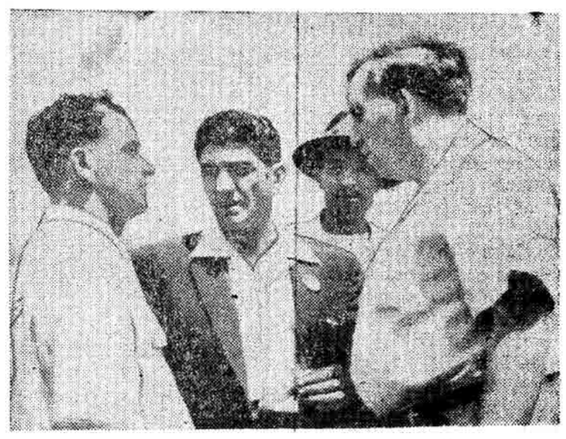
The company was smart enough to get this clause applied, at present, for the rolling mill division. They counted on the cowardice of the leadership to get it accepted since it concerned only a minority of the workers. The demands of the tool and die workers for a wage increase to remove some of the inequities with the jobbing shops were also those of a minority. The same goes for the demand of workers in the man-killing foundry for an extra nickle, and the demand of the maintenance workers for protection against outside contractors. These were all demands of "minorities," and thus were disregarded.

The old, strong union principle, "an injury to one is an injury to all," is being destroyed by the company as it plays one group of workers against another. With the connivance of the union leadership, the strength of industrial unionism, uniting all workers as workers, is being changed into its opposite.

The need of the times is for the strong restatement of this old principle and its fusion with new ideas and new needs — a shorter work week, a Labor Party, a new kind of leadership in the unions. This need was never more clearly stated than in the recent set of negotiations.

Last week's wildcat strikes, limited as they were, pointed to the eventual fulfillment of this need.

Stellato Tries to Explain



Ford UAW Local 600 Pres. Carl Stellato (center) shown telling workers outside Rouge Plant that strike deadline has been extended. When he reported the settlement at a later meeting, some workers booed him and 5,000 struck in protest against a mere 8-cent raise for tool and diemakers.

...Local Strikes Protest Auto Contracts

(Continued from page 1)

should feel grateful to the UAW leadership, which asked relatively little and settled for less.

"REASONABLE" REUTHER

Reuther approached the bargaining table not in the spirit of struggle, but of conciliation and compromise. He took a strike vote, but acted as though a strike would be the greatest catastrophe in the world. His main emphasis was on showing how "reasonable" his demands were and that they would benefit rather than hurt the employers.

His chief if not only interest in the negotiations was his guaranteed annual wage plan. Even here, he said, he was more interested in establishing a "principle" than in mere dollars-and-cents, for which he professed a certain lofty disdain.

This kind of bargaining was right up the corporations' alley. Since all Reuther asked for was a "principle," they gave him something that could be labeled one.

As for the plan itself, they chopped it down and cut it up thin. It pays no benefits for a whole year. The maximum benefits will be $25 a week added to unemployment compensation for a maximum of 26 weeks. **But most workers won't be eligible for either maximum.** Reuther himself said, two days before accepting the Ford offer, that it would average about $9 a week for laid-off workers. If there is a serious depression and the limited trust fund runs out of money, the workers will be out of luck and collect nothing at all.

The question is being argued: Did Reuther get even the "principle" for which he was willing to let just about everything else go by the board? Reuther naturally claims he did, but the answer is still uncertain. The corporations are justified in pointing to the many limitations, restrictions and safeguards they loaded onto Reuther's plan. Questions of quantity can affect questions of quality. It may yet turn out that what Reuther won was only the shadow of a principle.

Like the corporations, Reuther wants "labor peace" and is highly satisfied with the new contracts. But you would have to look far and wide to find a UAW member in the Detroit area who thinks the new contracts represent a big victory for the union; and then, like as not, it would be a UAW officer rather than a rank and file worker.

There simply isn't much enthusiasm here over the supplemental unemployment benefits. Maybe it is different with workers in the newer auto plants, who have less seniority on the average than those here. Anyhow, the workers here, even according to the capitalist papers, apparently are "not impressed" by this feature of the contract, and think it less important than some of their demands on working conditions that were dropped with little discussion into the wastebasket under the bargaining table.

This does not mean that the majority of the GM and Ford workers are going to vote against the new contracts. They are critical of some clauses and inclined to dismiss the Reutherite claims about a "big victory." By the unauthorized walkouts a large number showed their readiness to fight, but at the same time a majority were apparently relieved that they did get some small concessions without having to strike for them.

If the new contract means essentially a temporary continuation of the status quo between the corporations and the union, then it also means essentially a temporary continuation of the present relations between the union ranks and the union leadership. The workers know that with a more militant leadership they could have won much more in this year's negotiations, and they would have followed such a leadership. But most of them do not see the way to get a more militant leadership now.

WHAT WALKOUTS SHOW

In this context, it would be hard to view the walkouts of last week at Ford and this week at GM as the beginning of a full-scale radicalization of the workers. They are evidence, rather, of frustration and not-wholly-defined discontent with the policies of the leadership by an important section of the membership; proof that militancy has not been drowned out in the general atmosphere of conservatism which was produced by the economic situation and is consciously fostered by the Reutherites; and advance indications of the radicalization that is bound to come when economic conditions deteriorate, as they inevitably will.

There are some who underestimate the workers' discontent, merely because much of it is passive now. That was evidently what Carl Stellato did last week. At the UAW convention in March, almost one-third of the delegates voted for him when he ran for office because they felt he represented an alternative to the Reuther type of leadership, or might serve as a check on it. The big Rouge Local 600, the main center of anti-Reutherism in the UAW, last month re-elected him president by an overwhelming majority because they looked to him to defend their interests at the Ford negotiating table.

But Stellato went along with Reuther in the negotiations, and took full responsibility for the contract that proved to be unpopular at the Rouge. Having done this, he also had to order the strikers back to work. His standing among the militants in Local 600 is therefore considerably lower today than it was last month.

Primarily, this is because Stellato had no program in the negotiations differing from Reuther's. But it's also because Stellato made a false estimate of the sentiments of a large section of his own local. He overestimated their complacency and underestimated their militancy.

Conservatism is still dominant in the auto plants, but it is not universal; there are many who are ready to fight even now — among both the skilled workers and the production workers. What they lack is a program that can rally the other workers around them and enable them to win real concessions from the corporations. **Supplying this program, and helping to crystallize the leadership of the coming left wing that will challenge both the corporations and the Reuther bureaucracy, is the main job of class-conscious workers today.**

More than eight million persons in the South, according to recently released statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce, still receive incomes below $500 a year.

...Los Angeles -- The Typical Cold-War City

(Continued from page 1)

oil, gas, mining, agriculture, fishing. The arrival of 433 merchant ships in local harbors during March gives some idea of the scope of commercial activity.

Industrial expansion and population growth have spurred a construction boom. A multitude of one-family houses sprawl across hill and valley. New homes of ordinary types sell for relatively low down payments with long term mortgages of from 20 to 30 years.

Big insurance outfits hold many of these mortgages. The Prudential Insurance Co. alone issued over $8 million in housing loans locally during the first two months of 1955. In doing so the Prudential assumed the direct role of landlord over would-be home owners paying off mortgages.

These financier-landlords often discourage community organization among tenants, no matter what the original purpose may be. They fear general association may lead to formation of tenants groups capable of resisting eviction of home buyers who can't meet mortgage payments.

Fear of mortgage defaults is no doubt justified. The whole local boom is founded primarily on war production. According to the Chamber of Commerce the aircraft industry has current air force contracts totalling $6 billion.

The same source reports electronics production runs mainly to radar, sonar and similar military apparatus. Industries like oil and chemicals also get a big cut of the war-production pie. Nothing about the present prosperity reflects any fundamental soundness in the capitalist economy. The bubble can break at any time.

Sensing the artificiality of the boom, the workers usually tend to get all they can while they can. Maximum family earning power is developed by putting in overtime, taking extra jobs and through both husband and wife working.

POSSESSION AND DEBTS

With increased income they tend to live a little better, going in for installment buying on a larger scale and perhaps starting payments on a new home. Two-car families are quite commonplace in this city of vast distances where public transportation is abominable.

Although they appear prosperous in terms of possessions, many families are heavily in debt for their purchases. The loss of as little as a week's pay can in some cases thrust them to the brink of crisis.

Even though the family budget may remain in balance, fear still haunts the household. It arises from concern about the atomic fall-out, the threat of an H-bomb war and the realization that next time this country won't be spared from death and destruction. To make things worse the workers see a threat of unemployment unless war production continues and even then they fear automation will strip many of their jobs.

Deep feelings of insecurity develop, causing the family to turn inward in search of escape from external reality. Opiates are sought in the form of TV, or puttering around the house and garden, or tinkering with "Do it Yourself" gadgets. Much of the new turn to religion and the success of Billy Graham's revival circus can be attributed to this fundamental cause.

Under the hypnosis of this "new normality," a majority of the population stands momentarily immobilized both economically and politically. They accept capitalism and capitalist politics. They provide a base for the union bureaucracy and, in this city, a means for maintaining the open shop in many spheres.

Yet the hypnosis is far from complete. Much resentment is expressed in the plants against hard and hazardous working conditions, especially the stiffening speedup pressures. At General Motors a big labor turnover takes place because of bad job conditions. Since the workers can usually find new jobs today they tend to quit instead of staying to fight it out with management.

An exception to this tendency occurs among minority peoples working in industry. Discrimination in hiring leaves them less choice of jobs, so they usually stick it out at GM and other speedup hells of the city. Their insecure position was reflected in layoffs at Consolidated Steel during the recent slump. Hardest hit were Mexican-Americans, who comprise one-third, and Negroes, who constitute one-tenth of the total work force.

Minority peoples have found quite a few jobs in the sportswear line of the garment industry. There they have fallen victim to a steady decline in rates that has cut wages to about half the World War II figure. In fact wage rates for the garment industry in general are below the average paid in mass production industries. This is not surprising since only one-eighth of the garment workers are organized, due to bungling leadership and the crippling effect of the Taft-Hartley law on the union.

Conditions like these create receptivity to class-struggle policies despite the general atmosphere of passivity. Workers are present who will respond to an indictment of the capitalist system as a whole and to a transitional program toward socialism. That is shown by a local steel worker who said, "The Militant makes me think."

WHEN BUBBLE BURST

Socialist activity among these elements today will help prepare for the struggles to come when the Los Angeles bubble bursts; when unemployed workers face eviction from their homes and seizure of their autos and TV sets; when pious preaching fails to quiet the pangs of hunger and the supermarkets still demand cash for groceries.

Once gripped by social crisis, Los Angeles may well leap from the rearguard to the vanguard of the labor movement, as did Minneapolis in 1934. On January 1 of that year Minneapolis was one of the worst open shop cities in the country. Eight months and three bitter strikes later it stood among the most dynamic of union towns.

When the Los Angeles workers act they can be expected to fight for more than stiffer union contracts and the defeat of the open shop holdouts. They can be expected to move toward the Labor Party political road and in the process give a push to the whole labor movement.

These coming struggles will be great events to work toward, building patiently and persistently today in order to help prepare success tomorrow.

[Farrell Dobbs recently completed a national tour during which we published his on-the-spot reports and analyses of the economic and political situation in some of the main industrial centers of the country. Comrade Dobbs is now completing these reports in a number of articles.]

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

Something of Value?

Robert Ruark's "Something of Value," published two months ago has climbed to second place on the best seller list. It is a Book-of-the-Month Club selection. Hollywood is to make a movie of it. It will influence the ideas of many about Negroes in general and African Negroes in particular.

Ruark is a columnist for the reactionary Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. He belongs to the violent-language school of column writing founded by Westbrook Pegler. He loves such themes as the need to get tough with juvenile delinquents instead of "coddling" them and why the death penalty should be used more. From North Carolina originally, he now lives abroad much of the time. Franco Spain is his favorite residence. A big-game hunter, he has spent a good deal of time in Kenya and is very friendly with, and admiring of, the white ruling class there.

The aspect of Ruark's novel that has drawn the comment of all the book reviewers is its brutality. In this epoch of capitalist decay with its world wars, fascism, A-bombs, etc., cruelty and death have become more and more prominent aspects of life. These are legitimate subjects for novelists and their fascination for such bona fide artists as Hemingway and Malraux has often been commented on. For Ruark, however, they are the only important things. His book contains endless floating, minutely-detailed descriptions of beheadings, castrations and countless other forms of torture and killing. It is a super-sadist Mickey Spillane work set in Africa.

Ruark starts with a plot device often used to depict both sides in a conflict. As in the old Blue-and-the-Grey plays and novels about the American civil war we start off with two boyhood friends, whose paths diverge as they grow up until at the climax they meet on the battlefield on opposite sides. In "Something of Value" the two boys are Peter, the white boy, son of a big farmer, and Kimani, the African, son of the plantation foreman. Peter becomes the fearless white hunter, who switches from killing big game to killing Mau Mau, while Kimani becomes a Mau Mau leader.

Now this is a plot device to present the hopes, ideals and fortunes of the opposite sides in a conflict. But Ruark soon drops all pretense of this and uses it to doubly damn the Africans. They are damned by his presentation of the white side and then they are damned again by their own words and deeds as he presents them. Kimani is represented as not really believing in the aims of the movement he fights for. He is with the Mau Mau through accident, opportunism and because he can't get out. The movement itself is portrayed by Ruark as devoid of decency or ideals, the diabolical scheme of a megalomaniac African, spoiled by too much education (Jomo Kenyatta) and of conspirators from Russia.

Ruark makes no claim of having got this picture from Africans or of even hearing their side of the story. On the contrary he got it from the whites of Kenya. As evidence it is, therefore, absolutely worthless. But his descriptions of the treatment of Africans by the white volunteer militia has value as evidence. He got this information firsthand from his friends — the white gentlemen farmers and businessmen who are engaged in this bloody work.

Thus "Something of Value" has some value. Not as a literary work, for it is spiritually debasing. Not as an explanation of the civil war in Kenya, for it is viciously one-sided. But it does give us a picture of the racist mentality and sadistic deeds of the white rulers of Kenya. It is not unfair to them since it comes from the pen of one of their most ardent admirers. The book has the same kind of value that Hitler's "Mein Kampf" had for the student of fascism.

Here are a few samples from Ruark's account of the white settlers' police action. Peter (the hero) and another volunteer, in order to make a young African give information, take him with five other prisoners, who can't be made to talk, out of the concentration camp into the forest. As an object lesson they dig the eyes out of the first victim, an old man; castrate the second, a young man; cut the heart out of the third, a boy, while he is still alive; the tongue is cut out of the fourth; then the head cut off the fifth. The gruesome results of these torture-murders are then thrown over the fence of the prison camp for the edification of the "barbaric" prisoners.

Another exploit of Peter, the superman hunter and beau ideal of the author, is participation in a surprise attack on the mountain hideout of a Mau Mau band. With great relish Ruark describes the killing of each and every man, woman and child.

(Concluded next week)

Our Best Investment

By Robert Chester

Driving to work through hectic New York morning traffic can have its compensations. You hear the latest weather report, learn the latest hit tune and catch up on the news. I have been attracted, however, to the financial news programs that are becoming more frequent. They are usually sponsored by some fancy investor outfit having four or more names, like Smith, Jones, Kerrigan, Chambers and Co.

The programs present some interesting facts, like the recent South American coffee price-fixing agreement or the latest merger. But the main pitch is aimed at the aspiring investor. Did you know that R. H. Macy has paid a dividend every year for 25 years? Or that municipal bonds are tax free? If this excites your appetite for some ready income write for a fancy brochure and add your name to the sucker list.

Stocks are at a 25 year high. Twenty-five years back — that's 1929! But any mention of that black year is strictly **verboten** in the financial newscasters' copy. After all, their interest is to suck in the small investors — and not scare them away. These silken-tongued salesmen would rather use the moral approach. "Participate in building America's future," they urge.

These outfits, dangling riches before our eyes, never concern themselves with the source of all this wealth. The explanation that it comes from the labor of the American worker, sweating away at the highest rate of exploitation the world has seen, is simply denounced as subversive propaganda.

Even that super-sweatshop, the Ford Motor Company, tried to get in on the act. It offered a fancy stock scheme to the Ford workers, instead of a guaranteed annual wage, hoping to convince them that every worker is a potential capitalist and needn't depend on a union contract for security. There is nothing like a few shares of stock, they reasoned, to make the most radical worker a dyed-in-the-wool conservative. The Ford workers saw through this without trouble, and the scheme died painlessly.

The real investment today is not in the stock market which is soaring upward preparing for a stupendous fall. True wealth lies in the stored-up fighting strength of the working class which alone has the power and organization to take a topsy-turvy society and set it on its feet again.

Notes from the News

RUNAWAY RUNS INTO UNION. The American Safety Razor Co. which ran away from Brooklyn to Staunton, Va., lost its fight to keep its new Southern workers from organizing. The CIO Electrical Workers won in a landslide. In over 600 votes only 24 were for "no union." The local newspaper propagandized for the company with editorials that "imposition of Brooklyn wage scales here would tend to disrupt the entire local economy. . ." The workers apparently figure that is just the kind of disruption the Southern economy needs.

* * *

THE U.S. SENATE, June 8, passed the Democratic-sponsored minimum wage bill raising hourly pay from 75c. to $1.00. That's ten cents more than Eisenhower proposed and 25c. less than the labor movement demanded. But the Democrats rejected Eisenhower's proposal to extend the legislation to cover more workers. This will be studied for possible action next year, say the Democrats.

* * *

A LICENSE TO STEAL wouldn't bring in more extra profits for the meat packing industry than sex differentials in pay. If the meat products business had to pay women at the same rate as men, it would cost an extra $4,706,352 a year, the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America estimates. Negro women are at the very bottom of the pay scale.

* * *

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK bills have been introduced in both houses of Congress. Representative Green (Oregon) in introducing her bill said "when women are underpaid they suffer unjust discrimination. . . This tends to undercut the wage standards of male workers." Both House and Senate Labor Committees held hearings on similar bills in previous sessions but neither reported them out favorably.

* * *

THE SHORTER WORK WEEK has become more prevalent in union contracts during the last two years, reports the AFL Research Department. Almost one worker in six now works less than 40 hours, but only one third of this group is in manufacturing.

* * *

WESTBROOK PEGLER AND THE HEARST CORPORATION will have to pay the $175,001 libel suit won by newspaperman Quentin Reynolds, the U.S. Court of Appeals has ruled. This is the latest stage of the battle that began in 1949 when Pegler charged Reynolds with being a coward, a war profiteer, and absentee war correspondent, a nudist and a man of loose morals and suspect politics.

Score Mayor's Strikebreaking

Striking members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (independent) picket the city hall in New Britain, Conn., protesting Mayor Edward Scott's sponsorship of a company strikebreaking poll. Workers, on strike against Landers Frary & Clark for three months, have backing of all AFL and CIO unions in the town.

...Auto Walkouts Protest Speed-up

(Continued from page 1)

bosses or the worker? Let's get some guys in there who will fight for us." (See the report on the Ford Rouge fight on Page 3.)

Nearly 5,000 GM workers in Trenton, New Jersey, won their demands in a two-day walkout. They demanded the same wage scale that prevailed in Detroit. **As a result of their militant local action, these workers got an extra eleven cents an hour.**

The Chevrolet and Fisher Body factories in North Tarrytown, New York, are still closed. With 5,000 workers on strike, questions of seniority in rehiring and job-transfer preference are still unsettled.

REUTHER'S THREATS

While General Motors threatened the workers with immediate firing as punishment for walkouts, the union bureaucrats rushed around like foremen trying to herd the workers back on the job. Reuther sent a telegram to all local union leaders ordering them to "work tirelessly toward ending these unauthorized walkouts" and warned that the "union cannot assure protection against resulting disciplinary action."

Reuther forgot that he isn't the union. The union consists of the men and women in the plants. Without these men and women, Reuther can't "protect" anyone.

LINDEN GM STRIKE

The events of June 7 at GM's Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac assembly plant in Linden, New Jersey, revealed the mood of the rank and file auto workers. According to all reports what happened at Linden is typical of many other plants.

A meeting was organized by night shift workers in front of the main gate. As workers began arriving for the night shift, only a handful entered the plant. The rest gathered in groups waiting for the outcome of the meeting. Most of them held leaflets distributed by shop committee men "warning" the men against taking hasty action. The air was punctured with shouts of "Let's go home!" "Shut the damn plant down!" "Where's the picket line?"

One group of workers was discussing scheduled alterations in the plant which would enable the company to speed up the assembly lines from the present 55 cars an hour to 70 an hour.

In another group a worker commented, "I've been working overtime four solid months and I'm tired. I hope we go on strike for at least a week so I can get a rest."

When the meeting got under way a spokesman for the night shift stood on two pop cases. He put the decision for strike up to the workers, saying he would strike or work whichever they wanted.

"WE'RE THE UNION"

While he was talking an old-timer remarked to those around him, "What we need out here are a couple of radicals. These guys are afraid to do anything."

A local official then spoke, warning the workers of the consequences of a "wildcat." When **he pointed out that there was nothing the union could do to help them if they walked out, a worker shouted angrily from the crowd, "What do you mean — there is nothing the union can do to help us? We're the union!" Others joined in with, "That's right. We're the union."**

The workers finally entered the plant with the understanding that there would be another special meeting the following day at which the local president who was out of town would report on the local agreement.

However, later that night some 70 production workers walked out of the plant, threw up a picket line and shut the plant down for one day before returning to work.

When strike action finally subsided one young militant commented, "The next time we go, we'll be organized."

Auto workers all over the country knew that this time things were being settled at the top. They weren't yet prepared, with either a program or organization to remedy that. **But neither were they going to let it pass unchallenged. At least 250,000 protested with strike action. Nothing that Reuther got in the negotiations could change the ever-present fact of the speed-up. Even if only for a few days, the rush of cars down the production line had to be stopped.**

...Doesn't Want Ford Deal Says L.A. GM Union

(Continued from page 1)

until the walkout terminated. From Detroit came threatening communiques. John W. Livingston, UAW vice-president in charge of GM ordered the members of Local 216 back to work charging they were "sabotaging national negotiations." Another mass meeting was called for Thursday to act on the messages from Reuther-Livingston in Detroit.

At the mass meeting the Local 216 rank and file booed Reuther's new Regional Director, Bioletti, reiterated their opposition to the Ford agreement, again demanded action to force management to concede the Local demands and rejected the "return-to-work" ultimatum of Reuther-Livingston.

When informed of the action taken by the membership of Local 216, Livingston reportedly said: If you don't go back to work you're on your own. The Local would get no hearing on its demands, he added, until the men returned to work. The implication was that responsibility would rest with the Local leadership for failure to gain the demands which the membership felt were of more immediate importance than the so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage "principle" embodied in the Ford agreement.

Being assured that there would be no reprisals against any of the men participating in the walkout the Local leadership advised the men to return to work pending the outcome of national negotiations. Summing up the attitude of the men at the meeting which voted to return to work, the local press reported one of the rank-and-file union spokesmen as saying: **"We're going back at the insistence of the international officers. If we and other locals get rooked, we'll see about calling a convention and getting more new leadership."**

YOUNG WORKERS

The walkout demonstration of the GM workers here disclosed some very significant facts pregnant with meaning for the future of the American labor movement. First, it was the young workers, the "recent hires" who spearheaded the action. The night shift at GM South Gate was just recently begun as part of management's plan of stepped-up production in preparation for possible strike. Most of the workers on night shift have only a few weeks to a few months seniority.

Second, the Body Shop which initiated the action, is comprised mainly of Negro, Mexican-American and other minority workers.

Third, the picket lines were manned by the young newly-hired workers while the "old-timers" with few notable exceptions were conspicuous by their absence.

Fourth, many of the young workers were veterans of the Korean war, and related their war experience with their present condition as GM employees. As one young Korean veteran expressed it: "You got a coffee break even when they were shooting at you in Korea — but not in GM!" (The demand for a coffee break, morning and afternoon, is one of the Local demands.)

RECRUIT TO UNION

It is reported that many of the recently hired workers joined the union right from the picket line. (The rule is that a new man does not have to join the union for 90 days.) In one instance a young veteran who had been hired the previous day came to work the following morning and seeing the picket line grabbed a picket sign and joined the march. **There was no defeatism in these young militants and they did not hesitate to challenge the mighty GM corporation, and the Reuther-led bureaucrats at the head of the union. It is out of this material and through such experiences that the new union leadership is being forged. That is a good augury for the future.**

(In addition to the demand for a coffee break, the main demands of Local 216 are for adequate relief, protective clothing and gloves when performing certain types of labor, cleanup time when certain jobs are done, and other working conditions.)

A Navy recruiting poster on New Orleans' Canal St. pictured three eager-looking seamen, the first of whom wanted "adventure," the second "security," and the third "education." Underneath an anonnymous salt scrawled in emphatic letters, "I want out!" — from Labor's Daily.

...NAACP Conv. Faces Crucial Issue

(Continued from page 1)

integrate, means we are going to have to file lawsuits in every little cow county in the South because in every case, they are going to claim it is a question of fact as to when integration can be effected, and their situation is different."

Thus it is clear that many NAACP members, including some in the leadership, feel that they must face the fact that the Supreme Court capitulated to the South; its implementing ruling gave the South everything it could without actually reversing the original decision; it didn't even take the phoney "middle-of-the-road" position proposed by Eisenhower's Solicitor General. That, at least, called for a 90-day limit for the filing of plans for desegregation by local school boards.

The toothless enforcement order the Supreme Court handed down, has no time limit on anything. It is virtually the program of "indefinite delay and local option" that the NAACP attorneys argued against so vigorously.

A BALANCE SHEET

The NAACP convention will have the opportunity to draw a balance sheet of the whole school segregation fight to date. Some of the entries might be as follows.

The May 17, 1954 decision: This was a legal victory which crowned decades of struggle by the Negro people and its allies in the labor movement. The need to placate the anti-U.S. feelings of the colored peoples of the world, who through anti-imperialist revolutions have emerged as a tremendous force, had much to do with the court's action.

Beginning of desegregation in the border states last September: Defeats in Greenbrier County, West Virginia, and Milford, Delaware; victories in Baltimore and Washington, D. C. However, the integration in these latter cities is very limited as yet. Much of it is token, as Dr. Margaret Butcher, NAACP school expert, has shown.

The anti-integration riots and student demonstrations: A victory for the white supremacists in one area emboldens those elsewhere. This was demonstrated by Bryant Bowles' leap to infamy in the Washington and Baltimore disturbances on the basis of his success in Milford.

In Baltimore and Washington, Bowles and his Ku Kluxers had the initiative throughout the disturbances. He got the headlines, gave the press and TV interviews, held mass meetings, etc. The Negro and labor organizations were caught by surprise and failed to take command of the situation. Plans should be made for NAACP-labor cooperation to meet such disturbances. **Negro and labor leaders should go on the air and TV, telling their members and the general public what is involved and what to do. Mass meetings in support of integration should be held. Car pools and escorts should be organized for taking children to and from school. Joint committees embracing all opponents of Jim Crow should be organized to stiffen the backbones of the officials and to see that the police enforce the law and not their prejudices.**

Strategy in the year interval between the two installments of the Supreme Court's decision: The Dixiecrat elements understood national politics better than their opponents. The unusual procedure of the court in not ordering its decision enforced immediately was the tip-off. It could only mean that it wanted to see which way the wind was blowing before it ruled on implementing. It is a maxim of American politics that the court "follows the election returns," that is, it keeps its ear to the ground and decides much on grounds of expediency.

The Southern white supremacists, led by Gov. Byrnes, a former member of the Supreme Court, **who knows how it makes up its mind, beat the drums, made threats, vowed they would never submit, etc. The Negro and labor leaders, however, were meek as lambs, praising the court to the skies for the first half of the decision and implying that no matter what the second half might be they would not get angry.**

Small wonder the justices decided they had already done enough for the Negro people by giving them the "principle" of desegregation and that it was now best to appease the angry South by letting it keep the "practice" of segregation.

HOW TO WIN

That is a balance sheet to date. The NAACP is laying plans for a vigorous court battle to try to get some enforcement. This is commendable and necessary. But it isn't enough. Today's situation strongly resembles that of labor back in 1933. Then the government through Section 7(a) of the NRA legally gave workers the right to form unions of their own choosing and to bargain collectively. But the legal principle was far from the practice. The whole history of the 1930's is the history of labor's fight to put into practice the principle which the government had "given" it. So it is with desegregation. The high court has given the Negro people the legal "principle," but it will take hard struggle to put it into practice.

Numerous developments will help in this heroic battle. The militant spirit of the Negro people in the South will pay great dividends. New and progressive moods are visible in certain layers of the white middle class of the South — particularly among the students. **Most important, the white and Negro workers of the South are now ready to do what their Northern brothers did in the 1930's — build unions. This is the meaning of the recent strike wave there.**

SIGNIFICANT PROPOSAL

It is significant that the most militant proposal on school desegregation came from a conference of white and Negro members of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union held recently at Atlanta University (in defiance of Georgia's Jim Crow laws). This conference, citing government seizures of mines and railroads during strikes, called for federal seizure and integration of Southern schools that refused to desegregate.

Another important development is the growing loss of confidence of the Negro people in the Republican and Democratic parties. The flim-flamming that has been going on in Congress on civil rights is powerful proof that both Big Business parties prefer to woo the Dixiecrats rather than grant concessions on civil rights.

Labor is learning a similar lesson — at a slower pace — about its Democratic "friends." This education of labor and the Negro people can pay off in the end by the decision to build a new party — a Labor Party, that will be owned and controlled by the workers, the Negro people and other exploited and oppressed sections of the American people.

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